

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BELFAS 00055 01 OF 02 261348 Z

45

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 IO-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-09

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12

NIC-01 ACDA-19 GAC-01 RSR-01 /124 W
----- 021073

R 261058 Z MAR 73

FM AMCONSUL BELFAST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 489

INFO AMEMBASS LONDON

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

USNAVCOMMSTA LONDONDERRY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 BELFAST 0055

LONDON PASS USNAVCOMMSTA LONDONDERRY

E. O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, UK (N. I.)

SUBJECT: MORE REACTION TO WHITE PAPER

REF: BELFAST 48

BEGIN SUMMARY -- LOYALISTS FORM NEW ALLIANCE TO DEFEAT WHITE PAPER PROPOSALS. ON MARCH 21 PAISLEY, CRAIG AND VANGUARD, UNIONIST MP ORR AND REPRESENTATIVES OF UDA, LAW AND ORANGE ORDER MET TO DETERMINE STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH WHITE PAPER; ITS MOST OBJECTIONABLE PARTS BEING PROPOSALS FOR CONTROL OF POLICE AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION. PROVISIONS FOR DEALING WITH RELATIONS WITH IRELAND AND DEFEAT OF IRA ALSO CAME UNDER ATTACK. MASS MEETING MARCH 24 WILL ELABORATE POSITIONS, TACTICS AND OBJECTIVES OF NEW ALLIANCE, WHICH PLEDGES TO USE ONLY DEMOCRATIC MEANS. WHITE PAPER'S OBJECTIONABLE FEATURES SEEN AS MAKING ULSTERMEN SECOND- CLASS CITIZENS OF UK, RUBBING A NERVE ALREADY RAW FROM A YEAR OF DIRECT RULE. END SUMMARY.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BELFAS 00055 01 OF 02 261348 Z

1. CONSIDERED REACTIONS TO WHITE PAPER FROM LOYALISTS SIDE BEGAN COMING IN YESTERDAY. PREDICTABLY, ATTENTION CENTERED ON WHITE PAPER' S TREATMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION, CONTROL OF POLICE, RELATIONS WITH IRELAND, AND MEASURES TO DEFEAT IRA. THOSE WITH OBJECTIONS IN THESE AREAS MET AT STORMONT AND NEW LOYALIST ALLIANCE PLEDGED TO DEFEAT WHITE PAPER' S PROPOSALS BY DEMOCRATIC MEANS WAS FORMED. ALLIANCE, DUBBED UNITED LOYALIST ACTION GROUP, WILL NOT BE NEW PARTY, AND GROUPS WHOSE MEMBERS PARTICIPATED WILL RETAIN THEIR IDENTITIES. PRESENT WERE DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY (DUP) LEADER IAN PAISLEY, ULSTER LOYALIST COUNCIL (ULC) AND VANGUARD LEADER BILL CRAIG, WESTMINSTER MP LAWRENCE ORR AND REPRESENTATIVES OF ULSTER DEFENSE ASSOCIATION (UDA), LOYALIST ASSOCIATION OF OF WORKERS (LAW) AND ORANGE ORDER.

2. STATEMENTS BY PARTICIPANTS AFTER FOUR- HOUR SESSION MADE CLEAR OBJECTIONS ARE TO WHITE PAPER BECAUSE IT CONTINUES CONTROL OF SECURITY, I. E. POLICE, AT WESTMINSTER, CONTINUES UNDER- REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT IN WESTMINSTER (IN ABSENCE OF LOCAL PARLIAMENT HERE), AND ALLOWS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF COUNCIL OF IRELAND. MAIN FOCUS WAS ON CONTROL OF SECURITY AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION; DISSATISFACTION ON CONFERENCE ON IRELAND SCHEME IS LESS INTENSE. THERE WAS ALSO LESS THAN WHOLE- HEARTED APPROVAL OF WHITE PAPER' S PROVISIONS FOR DEFEAT OF IRA; SOMETHING PROPOSING MORE DYNAMIC ACTION WOULD HAVE BEEN PREFERRED. PAISLEY AND OTHER ALSO MENTIONED " HIDDEN DANGERS" IN WHITE PAPER, A POINT MEANING SLIPPERY SLOPE TO UNITED IRELAND. THERE WAS AGREEMENT AT SESSION THAT THESE OBJECTIONS WOULD BE FOUGHT FOR BY DEMOCRATIC MEANS, I. E. FIRST IN WESTMINSTER AND THEN IN FRAMEWORK OF COMING ELECTIONS, IF NECESSARY, AND NOT IN STREETS. BUT CRAIG, IN POST- SESSION INTERVIEW, WOULD NOT RULE OUT INDUSTRIAL ACTION. NEITHER WOULD LAW' S BILLY HULL. ALLIANCE' S POSITION, TACTICS AND OBJECTIVES WILL PRESUMABLY BE ELABORATED AT MASS RALLY SCHEDULED FOR MARCH 24 IN BELFAST.

3. EMERGENCE OF PAISLEY, IN ALLIANCE NOW WITH CRAIG, IN PAST WEEK OR SO IS SEEN HERE AS BRINGING CLOSER SHOWDOWN WITH FAULKNER FOR LEADERSHIP OF LOYALIST COMMUNITY AS WHOLE AND EVEN OF UNIONIST PARTY. BOTH PAISLEY AND CRAIG POINTED OUT THAT FAULKNER AND HIS GOVERNMENT RESIGNED OVER CONTROL OF SECURITY ISSUE, AND WONDERED WHAT POSITION HE WOULD TAKE NOW ON THIS ISSUE. THEY MADE IT CLEAR THEY WERE STICKING TO THEIR GUNS ON THAT POINT.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 BELFAS 00055 01 OF 02 261348 Z

PAISLEY STRESSED THAT WHITE PAPER WAS " WORSE THAN DIRECT RULE" AND MADE ULSTERMEN " SECOND- CLASS CITIZENS".

4. COMMENT: OVER PAST MONTHS THERE HAS BEEN GROWING EVIDENCE THAT LOYALISTS OF ULSTER NOW ARE SUBSTANTIALLY INFECTED WITH FEELING THAT THEY ARE SOMEHOW SECOND- CLASS CITIZENS. FEELING AROSE FIRST OUT OF DECISION TO IMPOSE DIRECT RULE ITSELF. THEN CAME WHITELAW' S STRATEGY FOR ATTACKING PROBLEM OF ULSTER: FIRST PRIORITY TO LOOSENING TIES TO IRA OF MINORITY COMMUNITY (BY CONCESSIONS), ACCEPTING AS NECESSARY COST PROBABLE LOYALIST ANGER AT SUCH STRATEGY. HE INTENDED, ONCE IRA GUNMEN WERE DETACHED FROM THEIR COMMUNAL SUPPORT, THEN TO USE SAME STRATEGY ON LOYALIST COMMUNITY IN ORDER TO ISOLATE IT FROM ITS MILITARY COMPONENTS. BUT MEASURES THAT WOULD HAVE PLEASED LOYALISTS, SUCH AS BORDER POLL, KEPT BEING DEFERRED, AND A FEELING OF SECOND- CLASSNESS, VALID OR NOT, TOOK ROOT.

5. AS MONTHS WENT ON THIS FEELING OF LESS- THAN- FULL CITIZENSHIP MOST OFTEN CAME TO BE EXPRESSED IN LOYALIST COMPLAINTS ABOUT ULSTER' S PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION. LOYALISTS HAD ALWAYS ACCEPTED LESS THAN A FAIR SHARE OF SEATS AT WESTMINSTER AS A JUSTIFIED TRADE OFF FOR A REAL PARLIAMENT AT STORMONT. WHEN IT WENT--- AND EVERYONE KNEW FULL WELL THAT THE OLD STORMONT WAS GONE FOR GOOD, QUESTION OF WHAT TO DO ABOUT WESTMINSTER REPRESENTATION NATURALLY AROSE. PAISLEY' S OPTING FOR COMPLETE INTEGRATION INTO UK AS HIS PREFERRED SOLUTION TO THE ULSTER CRISIS NATURALLY UNDERSCORED RELEVANCE OF QUESTION. WHITELAW WAS THOUGHT TO FAVOR RAISING NUMBER OF ULSTER SEATS AT WESTMINSTER. IT CAME TO BE ALMOST CONFIDENTLY EXPECTED HERE THAT WHITE PAPER WOULD UP ULSTER DELEGATION FROM 12 TO 18 OR 20 SEATS.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

ADP000

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BELFAS 00055 02 OF 02 261353 Z

45

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 IO-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-09

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12

NIC-01 ACDA-19 GAC-01 RSR-01 /124 W

----- 021155

R 261058 Z MAR 73
FM AMCONSUL BELFAST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 490
INFO AMEMBASS LONDON
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
USNAVCOMMSTA LONDONDERRY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 BELFAST 0055

LONDON PASS USNAVCOMMSTA LONDONDERRY

6. ON VERY EVE OF WHITE PAPER' S PUBLICATION ULSTER MP AT WESTMINSTER RAFTON POUNDER AIRED ANOTHER FACET OF PROBLEM. FOR MONTHS SO- CALLED CROWTHER COMMISSION HAS BEEN STUDYING DESIRABILITY AND FEASIBILITY OF DEVOLVING LEGISLATIVE POWERS TO REGIONAL ASSEMBLIES THROUGHOUT UNITED KINGDOM. POUNDER SUSPECTED ALOUD THAT CROWTHER REPORT WAS BEING MYSTERIOUSLY HELD UP SO AS NOT TO ANTICIPATE REGIONAL ASSEMBLY IDEA OF WHITE PAPER. HIS DEEPEST CONCERN, HOWEVER, WAS RESERVED FOR MATTER OF WESTMINSTER REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SEVERAL REGIONS. IT WOULD BE " INTOLERABLE", HE WARNED, IF WESTMINSTER REPRESENTATIONS OF OTHER REGIONS REMAINED AT PRESENT LEVELS AND ULSTER' S NOT INCREASED.

7. PAISLEY' S FIRST REACTION TO WHITE PAPER STRUCK RIGHT AT THE MATTER OF ULSTER' S SEATS AT WESTMINSTER. OBVIOUSLY SAME POINT WAS MAJOR SUBJECT AT MARCH 21 SESSION AT STORMONT.

8. ON SECOND- CLASS CITIZENSHIP POINT AT LEAST TWO OTHER MATTERS ARE STICKING IN LOYALISTS CRAWLS. AS BENEVOLENT (FROM ANY OUTSIDER' S OBJECTIVE STANDARD) AS WHITELAW HAS BEEN, HE REPRESENTS A FORM OF ALMOST ONE- MAN RULE. MOREOVER, LEGISLATION FOR ULSTER GOES THROUGH A LATE- NIGHT PROCESS ENDING IN PROMULGATION AS ORDERS- IN- LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BELFAS 00055 02 OF 02 261353 Z

COUNCIL. IF GOVERNANCE OF PROVINCE IS NOT FOR THESE REASONS OPPRESSIVE, IT IS AT LEAST ANOMALOUS AND UNLIKE THAT ELSEWHERE IN UK. WHITE PAPER' S CONTINUATION OF SECRETARY OF STATE WITH WHAT ARE SEEN BY SOME AS EVEN GREATER POWERS CHAFES ON THIS ALREADY- SORE SPOT.

9. NOW WHITE PAPER SUGGESTS THAT PR WILL OBTAIN IN COMING ELECTIONS. HERE AGAIN SITUATION OF CITIZENS OF UK IN ULSTER, DESPITE ASSURANCES THAT THEY ARE FULL CITIZENS THEREOF, WILL BE DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF OTHER UK CITIZENS. PR IS NOT BASIS OF VOTING ELSEWHERE IN UK. MOREOVER, NOT ONLY WAS PR TRIED HERE IN THE TWENTIES AND DISCARDED, BUT IT IS THE SYSTEM OF VOTING IN REPUBLIC.

10. THESE MATTERS, MORE SUBTLE PERHAPS THAN OTHER LOYALIST GROUNDS
FOR COMPLAINT, SUCH AS LOSS OF CONTROL OF SECURITY IN PROVINCE,
ALSO MAKE TASK OF LOYALIST EXTREMISTS EASIER AND THAT OF MODERATES
HARDER. THERE PROMISES TO BE SOME ROUGH SLEDDING FOR WHITE PAPER
HERE.
PENBERTHY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 MAR 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973BELFAS00055
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: n/a
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: BELFAST
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730338/aaaaihkm.tel
Line Count: 234
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 73 BELFAST 48
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <02-Aug-2001 by worrelsw>; APPROVED <23-Aug-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> jms 971229
Subject: MORE REACTION TO WHITE PAPER
TAGS: PINT, UK, (N. I.)
To: AMEMBASS LONDON
DUBLIN
EUR
SECSTATE WASHDC
USNAVCOMMSTA LONDON
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

